Throughout the 19th century, German immigrants to Warsaw and their descendants were active as factory founders, merchants, bankers and publishers. Through various ways, they fostered the economic development of the city, alongside to the Poles and Jews. So far, this group has hardly been explored. The volume titled Polacy z wyboru. Rodziny pochodzenia niemieckiego w XIX i XX wieku (Poles By Choice. Families of German Origin in the 19th and 20th CC.), published in 2012, is more of a compilation of various biographies than a systematic analysis of their conditions of migration to Warsaw and their specific life circumstances in the context of socioeconomic changes in the city and migration in Central Europe during the 19th century. Tadeusz Stegner’s work Ewangelicy warszawscy 1815-1915 (Warsaw’s Evangelicals 1815-1915), published in 1993, contains parts which discuss immigration of Protestants from the German principalities to Warsaw since the late 18th century. The volume also presents professions of middle class Warsaw Protestants and activities of prominent German Protestants through which they contributed to Warsaw’s urban technical development and were part of the local business life.

German immigrants, Jewish and non-Jewish, and their descendants worked as traders, craftsmen, engineers, industrial workers, pharmacists, architects, owners of counting houses and musicians. Besides, they were strongly represented in the judiciary. A journalist from Silesia who had travelled to Warsaw in 1876 recorded that a number of city residents who were teachers and doctors by profession “carried German surnames and were German by education and culture”. From statistics showing the professional structure of local religious communities it can be noted that a number of Protestants earned their living as dayworkers and servants, and that others were jobless or participated in the underworld emerging through the ongoing urbanization.

The statistics show that in 1882, nearly 3% of Varsovians were Protestants declaring German as their mother tongue (Catholic Poles constituted 58% of the total population whereas Jews 33%). In 1897, the proportion slightly decreased. After Polish, Yiddish, Russian and other Eastern Slavic languages, they formed the fourth largest language group. In spite of their small number, at the end of the century the proportion of non-Jewish entrepreneurs of German origin in the class of the wealthiest citizens was relatively large. This may be interpreted as an indication for their above-average economic success in industry, commerce and banking, but it also shows a high degree of economic integration of German immigrants and their descendants. A fundamental issue linked with the research on the German city residents is the unambiguous classification of this group. It seems that it is not always possible, especially that only few records exist. The historiographic articles on the demographic development of Warsaw are largely based on official comparative statistics of that time covering denomination but not nationality or origin. Thus the statistics of the Tsarist authorities show the professional and age structure of local religious groups as well as their distribution in the city. Some also in-
form about the percentage of the German speaking population. Naturally, they do not allow for an unambiguous statement indicating to which extent the professions of Protestants were the professions of Protestant Germans. Moreover, the data provided in these papers must be approached with the usual caution. For example, the data of the censuses from 1882 and 1897 were gathered by the Tsarists authorities interviewing city residents. Surely, the context in which the oral questioning was conducted had an impact upon the statements. During the discussion which followed presentation of this paper participants argued that towards the end of the 19th century probably more city residents actually considered themselves German than mentioned in the official statistics, referring to parish registers as well as to the usual inaccuracy of data resulting from oral questioning. It should be taken into consideration that some German residents even denied their origin. The reasons might have been the growing tensions between Russia and the German Empire or the growing German-Polish conflicts in the Eastern Prussian provinces. This thesis is supported by the research of Stegner who demonstrates that immigrants from German principalities associated themselves more with the regions they came from than with Germany, as German national consciousness had only emerged after the Napoleonic Wars and developed gradually in the course of the 19th century. Polacy z wyboru documents the lives of selected Warsaw residents of German origin in the 19th century who were members of the middle and upper classes. The title of this volume indicates a distinguishing characteristic of immigrants to Warsaw and simultaneously refers to the aforementioned problem researchers face while attempting to identify “Germans”: apparently many German families of Warsaw tended to polonize, in contrast to Germans in Łódź, while they preserved parts of their traditional way of life. Fluent national identities were a common phenomenon of Warsaw in the second half of the 19th century.

Based on the previous results, it can be estimated that half of the city’s Protestants considered German as their mother tongue. Most of Warsaw Protestants were of German origin, and approximately 80% of the Germans were Protestants. According to the census of 1882 43% of all Varsovian Protestants worked as craftsmen and industrialists. A large proportion indicates that

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12 W. Pruss, Skład wyznaniowo-narodowościowy; M. Nietyksza, Przemiany demograficzne w Warszawie; idem, Ludność Warszawy na przełomie XIX i XX wieku, Warszawa 1971.
13 E. g. this concerns the official statistics reproduced in W. Pruss, Skład wyznaniowo-narodowościowy, p. 377 Table 1 and p. 378 Table 2; T. Stegner, Ewangelicy warszawscy, p. 32 f., 126, 130.
14 Ibid., p. 134.
15 Ibid., p. 21 f.
18 Cf. note 9; T. Stegner, Ewangelicy warszawscy, p. 12.
20 W. Pruss, Skład wyznaniowo-narodowościowy, p. 382 Table 6. 35% of the Catholics belonged to this category, ibid. In case of the Catholics what must be taken into account is that most of them had been Warsaw residents longer than most of the German Protestants.
the majority of the Germans made their careers by participating in the process of industrialization in the Warsaw region. It should be noted that in Warsaw a tradition of German craftsmanship and commerce had existed since the end of the 16th century.  

My presentation proposes the thesis that the influence Germans and their descendants had exerted on the economic growth resulted from the fact that they were strongly represented in the sectors of economy which were key in Warsaw’s economic development. Historiography holds the opinion that generally, after 1795, there were correlations between increased immigration, growth of Warsaw economy and the emergence of new occupational groups. My research in this field is still at a very early stage, so for information on Warsaw residents of German origin this paper confines itself to referring to the research results which were published in Poland between the 1960s and the early 1990s and to outlining the rise of German entrepreneurs in context of the city’s economic change as the paper’s chief purpose. This also means that with regard to the first decades following the loss of Polish statehood, due to the current state of research, the article deals mainly with the Jewish immigrants from Prussia.

Following the Third Partition of Poland, during the Prussian rule and the Duchy of Warsaw and after the establishment of the Kingdom of Poland in 1815, Jewish and non-Jewish Germans increasingly migrated from Prussia and Silesia to Warsaw. A large number of the immigrants to Warsaw, probably most of them, were Jews. Many Jews also moved from South Prussia, the Polish region under Prussian administration since 1795 to Warsaw, others left South Prussia to seek employment in the industrializing cities in Germany. The increased immigration of Jews to Warsaw was partly encouraged by a Prussian decree of 1797. It allowed Jews to take up residence in all districts of Warsaw and to build houses there. In 1799, these rights were limited to Jews who had been residents of Warsaw prior to 1796. Those who arrived later had to pay fees. Poor Jews were generally not welcomed. However, after the turn of the century, the number of Jewish inhabitants increased at a faster rate than the number of the non-Jewish. The group of non-Jews which had immigrated from Germany in this period was rather small. In 1810, after the Prussian officers had left Warsaw, 9% of all Varsovians were Protestants, and, as was mentioned earlier, most of them were Germans. In the same year, 18% of the city dwellers were Jewish. The minor size of the group of German settlers

26 W. Pruss, Skład wyznaniowo-narodowościowy, p. 378 (table 2).
leads to the question of their actual influence. The paper is based on the thesis that the type of their activities and success explains the way in which they contributed to Warsaw’s industrial boom. The thesis is supported by the fact that their activities met the actual needs of the evolving industry. On the other hand, it seems very likely that the rapid economic change in Central Europe and the demands of local economy provided an incentive for immigration. The political transitions had undoubtedly exerted yet another vital influence on their scope of activity, as far as they had an impact on the economic and social development of Warsaw and on the immigration conditions. The immigration policy of Prussia, the Duchy of Warsaw and Russia encouraged immigration of individuals who seemed to be successful in the economic field.

Moreover, at the beginning of the 19th century, a job seeker could easily cross any border between Norway and France.

Currently historians recognize that the Partitions and the politics of the partitioning powers had an ambivalent impact on Warsaw’s economy. The older historiography often emphasized that Warsaw’s economy at the times of Partitions, especially trade, had been significantly curtailed. This is true only to a certain extent. Between 1795 and 1799, after Warsaw had lost its role as the capital of Poland, 13% of its inhabitants moved away. Among the emigrants were the nobles and members of the Polish army, who had belonged to the most affluent consumer groups. Besides, the city economy hardly benefitted from the staff of the Prussian administration as its size was much smaller than the administration of the previous capital city. As a result, many craftsmen closed their business. In addition, the Prussian custom policies lead to the import of more goods from Prussia while previous trade relations between Poland and Prussia were disrupted. The renowned banking houses (Tepper and Potocki) had already collapsed by 1795. Only few long-established and traditional trading houses outlasted the crisis. Among the entrepreneurs who were active in the second half of the 19th century only few originated from families who had run their own business or craft workshops in the 18th century.
On the other hand, under the new political conditions, Warsaw experienced an economic transition. Trade (which, according to Ireneusz Ihnatowicz, is the oldest economy in Warsaw[^35]) and industry grew significantly, because new trade relations between Warsaw and Wroclaw, Szczecin and Berlin were tied. New hotels, confectioners and restaurants sprang up, some of which were run by Italians[^36]. Other important income sources appeared: supplies for the Prussian army and granting credits, especially to the impoverished nobles[^37]. During this period of economic transition immigration from Prussia, Silesia, France, England and Italy increased. From these groups, to a large extent, the subsequent generation of entrepreneurs which was to shape the Warsaw economy originated[^38]. Thus, at the turn of the 19th century, a new type of mercantilist came up, so that the local business elite underwent a fundamental change[^39]. The new type was characterized by activity in various fields: in trade, industry and banking at the same time[^40]. This generation of merchants gained asset values which enabled them to undertake further investments and to provide loans[^41]. Generally, money gained in importance[^42] therefore private banks and counting houses were founded. They operated alongside the Prussian bank and other public banks[^43]. There are hardly any records about the precise national structure of this class. It is recognized though, that at the beginning of the 19th century Jews, German and non-German, formed the largest group of wealthy merchants and bankers[^44]. German-sounding surnames were no reliable evidence of German origin, as the Prussian administration in Warsaw had given local and immigrant Jews new surnames derived from German names[^45]. Samuel Kronenberg (1773-1826), father of the industrial magnate Leopold Kronenberg (1812-1878), had been granted the surname by the Prussian authorities.[^46]

The life of German-Jewish financier Judyta Levy Jakubowiczowa, born in the mid-18th century in Frankfurt an der Oder, reflects the rapid economic changes Warsaw underwent between the late 18th century and the 1830s.[^47]

Jakubowiczowa inherited a trading and banking house from her husband,

[^35]: Ibid., p. 45.
[^36]: A. Kraushar, Kupiectwo warszawskie, p. 26; J. Górski, Polska myśl ekonomiczna a rozwój gospodarczy. Studia nad początkami teorii zacofania gospodarczego, Warszawa 1963, p. 16; I. Ihnatowicz, Burżuazja warszawska, p. 44.
[^37]: Ibid., p. 37; J. Hensel, Polnische Adelsnation, p. 34 f.
[^40]: Ibid., p. 46 f. Among 42 of the wealthiest businessmen 34 were active in several economic sectors; cf. ibid., p. 47 f.; A. Eisenbach, The emancipation of the Jews, p. 209 f.
[^41]: I. Ihnatowicz, Burżuazja warszawska, p. 45.
[^45]: The officer, poet and composer E. T. A. Hoffmann implemented his imagination inventing names such as Diamandstein, Rosenthal, Tugendhold; Łastik, Z dziejów oświecenia żydowskiego, p. 166.
[^47]: Ibid., p. 35.
Szmul Zbytkower-Jakubowicz (1727-1800), who had supplied various armies - the Prussian, Polish as well as the Russian. In 1806, his widow supplied Prussian armies with corn and fodder, and during the period of the Duchy of Warsaw her company was the major supplier to the French and Polish armies. Nonetheless, on the whole, the Napoleonic War against Russia had a destabilizing effect on the economic situation of Warsaw. On the other hand, during the first half of the 19th century Warsaw economy could easily be stimulated through accidental and temporary factors. An important stimulating factor was the demand of the French and, later, Russian armies for food, cloth, linen, leather, cattle, horses and equipment for military barracks and hospitals. Major retail houses benefited in various ways from the new demands providing loans to the government and to workshop owners, organizing cottage-work and obliging the subcontractors. Moreover, the authorities of the Duchy of Warsaw aimed at building up a local industry for which they implemented specific customs and immigration policies: immigrant traders and craftsmen were exempted from taxes and public expenditures for the period of six years. Through these privileges the French authorities supported immigration of representatives of professions which were important for industry and agriculture. Certainly, it was also a consequence of these measures that Prussian merchants migrated to Warsaw. Jews were excluded from these privileges because the authorities were of the opinion that they did not hold productive professions. Exceptions were made for doctors, lawyers, scientists and wealthy individuals. Altogether, the Napoleonic War against Russia impeded settlement on a larger scale.

Another large-scale supplier was Samuel Antoni Fraenkel who founded his wealth and investment capital by supplying the French armed forces with corn. He was born in Wrocław in 1773 and arrived in Warsaw as a representative of a Berlin bank. Fraenkel established one of the most important banking houses in Warsaw which granted credits to the French Governing Committee and to the government purveyors as well. He also organized the salt delivery and provided loans. In his various enterprises, he cooperated with Jakubo-

wiczowa and her stepson, Berek Sonnenberg. Their activities show the tendency of Jewish and non-Jewish major enterprises to cooperate, unify bank and commercial capital and form financial dynasties.

The constitutional period, between 1815 and 1830, was a peaceful period for Warsaw, and yet it was then that the business supplying the army reached its climax. The high commander of the Russian Army, Grand Duke Konstantin, undertook great efforts to build a well-equipped army in the Polish Kingdom. For the merchants, the Russian ministry of defense was a stable and affluent costumer, and for the Polish economy in general, the state practiced a protectionist policy. The finance minister Ksawery Drucki-Lubecki and the public-sector Bank Polski which Drucki-Lubecki had founded in 1828 supported large private enterprises. He had been inspired by Stanisław Staszic sympathizing with his idea of organic work. The autonomous government committee for internal affairs and the Russian governor largely maintained the immigration policy of the Duchy of Warsaw. The Russian and autonomous authorities were interested in attracting individuals who contributed to pushing forward industry and agriculture. In decrees from the years 1816, 1817 and 1822 (confirmed in 1833) the governor granted certain professions tax reductions and privileges. The intention was to encourage qualified individuals who knew modern techniques, working methods or new branches of production. In return they received the right to settle freely and apply for loans. The target group were craftsmen and industrialists as well as settlers willing to live on flat lands. The Tsarist authorities maintained the restrictions for Jews which the Duchy of Warsaw had implemented and even tightened them. Jews from the Russian Empire however were treated as Russian subjects and thus allowed to settle freely in the Polish Kingdom. In the 1840s, Prussian subjects received a permanent residence permit insofar they were considered to be diligent and maintain a moral lifestyle. At the beginning of the 1860s, the authorities abolished all the limitations and granted individuals of any status and denomination the right to enter the Kingdom.

In the 1820s, the Warsaw industry and commerce developed significantly. As a consequence, middle and upper classes evolved. Its main base was the increasing circulation of merchandise and currency and trade with consumer


59 Ibid., p. 103.

60 I. Ihnatowicz, Burżuazja warszawska, p. 55; R. Kołodziejczyk, Die Warschauer Bourgeoisie, p. 237.

61 D. Rzepniewska, Imigracja do Warszawy, p. 126.

62 Ibid., p. 132.

63 Ibid., p. 128.

64 Ibid., p. 133.
goods. Large-scale merchants, financiers and rich artisans organized production of cloth for uniforms and a wide range of other goods for the army. As before, this group acted as agents, who processed the deliveries of the subcontractors to the warehouses and the military barracks. Through these activities, also more major trading companies came into being. The banker and supplier Fraenkel founded a large textile factory. The importance of banking grew further and a number of merchants became influential financiers. Jakubowiczowa expanded her bank to the Kingdom’s largest using her European networks operating with her son-in-law Samuel Fraenkel. Fraenkel spread his activities as a financier over the European continent making contacts with merchants in Germany, France, London, Netherlands, Petersburg, Vienna, the Baltic cities and Italy. Thus Fraenkel was an early representative of a global player. By way of his networks, Fraenkel also helped the finance minister receive the credit he needed for the development of the country. Due to Fraenkels efforts, a Berlin bank granted a loan of 42 million zlotys to the Polish budget. During the November Uprising, he initiated a payment from a Berlin bank to the insurgents. However, even this action did not hamper the relations between him and the Russian government.

The extraordinary successes of these families brings us to the question of whether origin and religion played any role in it. It is possible that a certain value-system existed. A notarial act from 1828 records a quote from merchant Ezyk Schoenberg. There he expressed that his share solely consists of “intellect, work and diligence”. Perhaps this remark mirrors a Jewish-German approach.

The activities of the salt trader Piotr Steinkeller (1799-1854) thus show in which way an individual at an early stage of regional economic development could pave the way for future progress and thus significantly contribute to shaping the local economy. Therefore the Warsaw industrialist’s biography is not necessarily representative for the Warsaw entrepreneurs of German origin. Steinkeller’s significance for my investigation lies in the fact, that he combined various types of trans-European economic activities acting at an early stage of industrial development and had a European-wide network. He

65 R. Kołodziejczyk, Die Warschauer Bourgeoisie, p. 237; I. Ihnatowicz, Burżuazja warszawska, p. 65; T. Lepkowski, Przemysł warszawski u progu epoki kapitalistycznej, Warszawa 1960, p. 27; Górski, Polska myśl ekonomiczna, p. 221; J. Kosim, Die Warschauer Kriegslieferanten, p. 93.
66 Ibid., p. 105-108.
67 T. Lepkowski, Przemysł warszawski u progu epoki kapitalistycznej, p. 15.
69 J. Kosim, Die Warschauer Kriegslieferanten, p. 97, 113; B. Grochulska, „Dom” S. A. L. Fraenkel, p. 49.
70 Ibid., p. 52 f.
71 Ibid., p. 62.
72 Ibid., p. 51.
73 Quoted from J. Kosim, Die Warschauer Kriegslieferanten, p. 108.
also acquired different technologies and forms of economy in several European countries and implemented them under the specific economic conditions of the Kingdom.

Steinkeller’s ancestors were Catholic nobles who, during the Reformation period, moved from Pomerania to Tirol. From there the family migrated to Vienna and, finally, in the second half of the 18th century, the grandfather of Piotr Steinkeller settled in Krakow. Steinkeller himself was born in Krakow in 1799. In Vienna, he studied commerce and banking and then expanded his father’s trading house. He also invested in the zinc mines near Krakow and traded with salt. In 1826 Steinkeller moved to Warsaw, having been attracted to Congress Poland which seemed to offer more potential scope of economic growth than Galicia, and there Steinkeller appeared as a pioneer in a wide range of industrial branches. His first operation was to open a trading house on Trębacka Street. A few years later, together with his associate Konstanty Wolicki, Steinkeller organized the transport and trade of salt in Congress Poland, as the Russian authorities leased the monopoly on salt to private entrepreneurs. For the transport of salt, his company organized a flotilla on the Vistula. This induced Steinkeller to enhance also the passenger transport on the Vistula. In 1828, he brought the first steam ship from England to Poland. During the November Uprising his flotilla for the salt transport on the Vistula was destroyed, and his partner Wolicki banished to Siberia. Later the business recovered. In the 1830s, Steinkeller made an agreement with the Bank Polski which allowed him to administer the zinc mines and smelting plants in the Dąbrowa basin. There he invested in the extraction of zinc, and was then active in the zinc trade on several European markets. But also the zinc business led to severe losses, and Steinkeller ended up heavily in debt. In consequence, the Bank Polski took over nearly all his possessions. In spite of the misfortune, Steinkeller’s activities had significantly stimulated the extraction of zinc and of hard coal in the Dąbrowa Basin, which was of long-term value.

During his business trips to England and France, Steinkeller had noticed the high level of technology and industrialization, and this inspired his further undertakings. The expansion of the traffic connections in the Polish Kingdom became one of his central projects. In 1838, he built up a courier service for mail and passenger transport from Warsaw to Krakow, Poznan and Brześć. The horse-drawn stagecoaches were known as “Steinkellerki”, and circulated in Congress Poland until the beginning of the 20th century.

74 R. Kołodziejczyk, Bohaterowie nieromantyczni, p. 106 f.
75 Idem, Steinkeller, p. 13.
76 Idem, Bohaterowie nieromantyczni, p. 132.
77 Ibid., p. 108 f., 114–118; idem, Die Warschauer Bourgeoisie, p. 246.
78 Idem, Steinkeller, p. 25 f.
79 Idem, Bohaterowie nieromantyczni, p. 114.
80 Ibid., p. 115 f.
81 Ibid., p. 133 f., 136 f., 139 f.
82 Ibid., p. 127.
83 Ibid., p. 126-129.
Steinkeller’s idea to build a railway line between Warsaw and Vienna. He founded a stock company which launched the project, together with Count Tomasz Łubieński. The Bank Polski was involved as well. However, in 1842 the company went bankrupt due to the immense costs involved in the project. Finally, the railway was constructed by the Russian government, and in 1845 the “Wiedeńska” was launched. Due to the connection with Vienna, Warsaw became the major traffic hub in the Kingdom, and the construction of the railway led to a new industry. Therefore, in Warsaw, the Gründerjahre were linked with the growth of the metal industry. Due to the railways more goods were transported through Warsaw than through the other parts of the Kingdom altogether.

Another success story was the Austrian family Lilpop who was Protestant or Catholic. Stanisław Lilpop’s business is an example of transnational fields of action in which the transnational character of Warsaw’s economy is also manifested. His grandfather August Lilpop had moved from Graz to Warsaw in the late 18th century where he founded a watch company. Stanisław Lilpop (1817-1866) participated in the technological revolution closely linked with the railway construction and the expansion of the Warsaw metal industry. In 1854, Lilpop bought a machine factory “Bracia Evans” which had been founded in 1818 by the English merchant Thomas Evans and the metallurgist Joseph Morris. In the 1860s, Evans-Lilpop associated with Wilhelm Rau, a banker of German origin. By then the firm specialized in producing all kinds of agricultural machines. In 1869, three years after the death of Stanisław, the Russian government ordered 3,000 railway wagons from Evans-Lilpop thanks to which the company began to expand. Four years later the firm became a stock company. Then the entrepreneur Seweryn Loewenstein joined the company, whose ancestors had immigrated from Belgium. Lilpop, Rau and Loewenstein was the first stock company in the industrial region of Warsaw and marked the beginning of a process which lead to the increase of stock companies in the metal industry. In 1877, the Russian government placed an order for railway tracks and granted a credit which enabled the company to

84 Ibid., p. 145.
85 Ibid., p. 145, 160; A. Paszke et al., 150 lat drogi żelaznej warszawsko-wiedeńskiej, Warszawa 1995, pp. 41-64. The company founded by Steinkeller and Łubieński was called “Towarzystwo Drogi Żelaznej Warszawsko-Wiedeńskiej”.
86 R. Kołodziejczyk, Bohaterowie nieromantyczni, p. 165 f.; W. Pruss, Rozwój przemysłu warszawskiego, p. 59.
87 I. Ihnatowicz, Burżuazja warszawska, p. 55.
88 Cf. Ibid., p. 54 Table 7.
90 W. Pruss, Rozwój przemysłu warszawskiego, p. 58.
91 Z. Pustuła, „Udział Towarzystwa Lilpop, Rau i Loewenstein’ w realizacji dostaw dla armii carskiej (1900-1910)“ [in:] Rocznik Warszawski 2 (1961), pp. 135-163, here p. 137 footnote 5. Since 1873 the company ran under the name Akcyjne Towarzystwo Zakładów Mechanicznych i Górniczych ”Lilpop, Rau i Loewenstein” (Stock company of the mechanical and mining factories ”Lilpop, Rau and Loewenstein”).
92 Ibid., p. 136.
set up the Warsaw Steelworks in Praga. Rheinische Stahlwerke A.G. and the metallurgical company Towarzystwo Zakładów Starachowickich were also involved. After the turn of the century, Lilpop, Rau and Loewenstein produced ammunition for the Russian government. The company by then had become the largest producer in the Kingdom. The factory also worked during the First World War. In 1917 the workers went on strike which was an important event in the socialist worker’s movement.

German names often occurred in the Warsaw metal processing industry, such as Werner, Buch and Hantke. The family of Maurycy Bormann, co-founder of Bormann and Szwede, had immigrated from Saxony. A huge tannery on Okopowa Street was owned by Temler and Szwede. Szwede’s ancestors had moved to Warsaw from Saxony in the early 19th century. There also existed the brewery of Błażej Haberbusch and Konstanty Schiele. All these companies, as well as many others whose founders had German roots, were part of the economy of Warsaw and the Polish Kingdom and their gains remained within the local economy.

Publisher Ferdynand Hoesick, born in Warsaw in 1867, had a somewhat different aims in life. He was writer, historian and chief editor of the daily newspaper Kurjer Warszawski. His memoirs tell the story of the family’s integration and adoption of the local culture. Ferdynand Hoesick’s grandfather, a carpenter, had come from a small town in Westphalia. As a journeyman he sought employment in various towns in that region, and finally travelled to Warsaw in 1825 where he found an employment in a carpenter workshop. His son, Ferdynand Wilhelm, was born in Warsaw in 1835. He was the father of the prominent publisher and earned his living as a bookseller. Ferdynand Hoesick’s memoirs describe in detail the conflicting relationship of his father towards his environment also being expressed in his attitude towards the Polish political struggle. He took side with the Polish matter but rejected emotional forms of the national movement, particularly armed uprisings. He found the demonstrations in Warsaw, which for many participants ended in arrests, unnecessary. Still, in 1863, he considered to participate in the uprising. Guiding theme of Ferdynand’s memoirs are the fluent national and cultural affiliations within the family, assimilation into the Polish environment and the conflicts linked with it. He considered himself a Pole. Ferdynand Hoesick’s biographies of Fryderyk Chopin and Juliusz Słowacki can be

95 Z. Pustuła, Udział Towarzystwa „Lilpop, Rau i Loewenstein”, p. 144, 146 f.
96 Quoted from: ibid., p. 137.
97 W. Pruss, Rozwój przemysłu warszawskiego, pp. 78, 86.
99 W. Pruss, Rozwój przemysłu warszawskiego, p. 151 f.
100 Z. Pustuła, Kapitały obce, p. 933 f.
102 Ibid., p. 66 f.
103 Ibid., p. 356.
interpreted as a way to approach the local culture and integrate. The family Hoesick provides another evidence for the thesis of historians that the Varso-
vian Germans tended to identify themselves with the Polish environment. Historiography also shows that in the course of the 19th century, in Warsaw, the proportion of Protestants and Germans decreased. The reasons presumably were emigration and stagnation of immigration from Germany due to the foundation of the German Empire in 1871. It is also possible, as in the case of the publisher, that Warsaw residents with German roots attached less and little importance to the origin of their ancestors. This might be expressed in the fact that German Protestant communities increasingly used Polish during liturgy and in the meetings.

A contemporary commented that the Warsaw industrialists of German origin significantly differed from those in Lodz who were totally focused on their personal success, for which they used all means. This allows to put forward the work thesis, that there was a significant group of Warsaw entrepre-
neurs with German roots who had a constructive attitude towards their Polish environment. A new chapter in German entrepreneurship was opened at the turn of the century, when stockholders, who were permanent residents of Germany, invested in the Warsaw industry, but exported their profits.

The elaboration shows that in the course of the 19th century a specific combination of political and economic factors provided favourable conditions for job seekers and businessmen from German principalities to settle in Warsaw and found successful companies within the local economy. The paper presents figures of prominent Warsaw businessmen of German origin who were diligent and successful and played a positive role in developing the local economy. But in order to complete the picture of this group also the middle and lower classes and the relations between German and non-German entrepre-
neurs need to be explored, taking into account specific characteristics of the socioeconomic, urban and economic-structural development of the city. Aim should also be to figure out whether the Warsaw conditions created a specific type of businessman and urban citizen with German roots.

Niemieccy przedsiębiorcy w Warszawie w XIX w. – streszczenie

Dotychczas nie prowadzono badań nad działalnością warszawskich przedsiębiorców niemieckiego pochodzenia w XIX w., zwłaszcza w kontekście zachodzących wówczas przeobrażeń o charakterze politycznym i ekonomicz-

104 See note 13.
105 M. Nietynksza, Przemiany demograficzne w Warszawie, p. 291 f.; W. Pruss, Skład wyznaniowo-narodo
106 W. Pruss, Skład wyznaniowo-narodowościowy, p. 375.
107 R. Kołodzieczyk, Burżuazja polska w XIX i XX wieku, p. 127.
108 Z. Pustuła, Kapitały obce, p. 939.
nym. Zmiany przynależności państwowej Warszawy, które nastąpiły w 1795, 1808 i 1815 r. miały istotny wpływ na sytuację gospodarczą miasta oraz na położenie zamieszkuwanych je imigrantów z Niemiec, zarówno żydowskiego jak i nieżydowskiego pochodzenia. Z czasem polepszone zostały regulowane przez prawo możliwości Żydów do osiedlania się, ponadto dla zapewnienia rozwoju gospodarce władze zachęcały Prusaków nieżydowskiego pochodzenia do pozostania w Warszawie. Duża liczba chrześcijańskich i żydowskich ludzi interesu z Niemiec pozostała tu na stałe, a przedsiębiorstwa założone przez nich i ich potomków stały się częścią lokalnej gospodarki, przyczyniając się do szybkiej industrializacji i rozwoju Warszawy.

**Słowa kluczowe:** historia miast, przemysł, Warszawa, Niemcy, Żydzi, protestanci

**Key words:** urban history, industry, Warsaw, Germans, Jews, Protestants